

DEMOCRACY AND ABOLITIONISM.

16.

S P E E C H

OF

HON. RUFUS P. RANNEY,

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S P E E C H .

FELLOW-CITIZENS: I appear before you to-day by the appointment of the Democratic State Central Committee, for the purpose of calling your attention to some few of the absorbing considerations which do, or ought to, occupy the public mind in respect to the condition of our common country. I shall not be able to allude to one in a hundred, scarcely, of the questions which may rightfully engage your attention and your thoughts.—Neither my time nor your patience would enable me to do so. The questions which it is necessary to submit to the consideration of American citizens at this time differ most materially from those that we were accustomed to present in years gone by. There was a time in this country when two great parties divided the voters, when each of these great parties professed themselves to be bound—inexorably bound—by the Constitution of this country, and by those great principles of civil liberty which underlie the structure of our institutions. That time, alas, has gone by. We now are presented with questions that are entirely fundamental. A great party in this country has taken upon itself the business of overturning the Constitution of the country, and it remains for American citizens to say whether they shall be successful in the effort they make, or whether American citizens will bring back the administration of the Government to those principles which guided our fathers who framed it. The issues now presented to the country are all fundamental. They all lie at the very foundation of all idea of civil government, and hence their vast importance. They are not questions of policy, merely as to how the Government should be administered within the limits of the Constitution, within the acknowledged pale of civil liberty. They are questions which it is vital for the American people to decide rightly upon.

It was my fortune, in 1859, to be designated as the standard bearer of the great Democratic party of that day, upon the ticket of that year, for the office of Governor. I spoke in many places throughout the State, and, without being a prophet or the son of a prophet, I saw or thought I saw then, and so expressed myself, the danger, that we were floating into a great civil war. I could not help seeing that crimination and recrimina-

tion from the different sections of the Union, the excitement of passion and prejudice that was everywhere engendered—I could not help seeing that in a very few years it would probably terminate in civil discord. What were my apprehensions then have become history now. We have passed through a great civil war, and the duties that now present themselves are those of considering in what manner best to repair the country and again to put it on its career of prosperity as it existed before this civil war. I shall, therefore, call your attention to those considerations which, in my judgment, it is indispensable for you to consider in respect to the present and future. As to the past, any further than an experience of the past may throw light in the present and the future, I shall let it alone.—Let the dead bury their dead. It is enough that we have great duties and responsibilities upon us now. It is enough that these are overwhelming in their character, and it calls upon every well-wisher of the country to devote his whole thoughts and energies to consider and act in the way that shall advance the prosperity of the country in the future.

I express to you to-day the candid opinion which I entertain, which all the facts around me seem to compel me to entertain, that at this very moment of time the best interests of our country, civil liberty and constitutional government, are all imperiled by the party in power, and unless a check is put on their career by the voters in these States, I feel entirely assured that all these great interests will, at an early day, be entirely overthrown. I may be wrong about this, but I believe I am right, and if I am right, what a stake has every American citizen in the great questions now presented to the country. What is the corrective? In what way may this be stopped? There is but one way known to me. You need not look to the South for help in this emergency. It is powerless to afford any help. You must look to yourselves, and I say to you candidly, as my solemn judgment, that unless the voters of these great States, extending from New York to the Mississippi River, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, arrest, and arrest speedily, the mad course of the party they have placed in power, that your great interests are in danger of overthrow.

This, as a matter of course, must depend, in a very large degree, upon the candid action of that class of men who have been accustomed to act with what is denominated the Republican party. When the whole thing is reduced to a point, it simply comes to this, whether all the members of that party will continue to stand by the acts and doings and mad career of the present Congress of the United States, and other authorities of this State and nation. As a matter of course, the old Democratic party will be found where it always has been, with its shoulder to the wheel, helping on the car of liberty. [Applause.] But it must have accessions. Well-meaning men of the opposition must investigate and decide for themselves, under the fearful responsibility that a wrong decision will inflict innumerable injuries upon the country. They must decide for themselves what course in conscience and patriotism they are to pursue for the future. I am, by no means, sanguine, my fellow-citizens, of the result of the trial in which we are now engaged. I do not feel sanguine, because, when things are brought to a single issue upon the determination of the great American people, I do not know whether, in time to save those things that are dear to us, enough of them will be convinced to bring the country into the ways of right and safety, or not.

I have no belief, when the liberties of the country are once overturned and constitutional rights trampled under foot, that it is going to be any easy matter to reintegrate the country, if I may use the expression, and restore it to the acknowledgment of those principles of liberty and justice upon which its prosperity depends. All history seems to point the other way, and if you will go back to the record of other free governments from the earliest time, as illustrated in history, you will find that when liberty is once lost it is lost forever. When free institutions, in any country, have been successfully overthrown, they are overthrown to rise no more. Go back to the first efforts of popular governments that we find recorded in history.—Look at Greece in her prime, and then look at her in her decline. Look at Rome in her pride, in the best days of the Republic, and look at her in the decline and fall. Look at the Netherlands. They made another very successful practical attempt to institute free government. After combatting with Spain for seventy years for liberty and independence, she succeeded, but immediately after she was invaded with corruption and violence, and ultimately her very constitution was overthrown.

Coming down to our own time, the history of France is a great study for the people of this country at this time. There never was a purer theory nor purer principles advanced

upon earth than were advanced by the leaders of the French revolution, never a more bloody career of any people, ultimately terminating in despotism. The same thing was true of England. John Hampden had a noble cause, but it was taken up by ambitious and corrupt men and run into the despotism of Cromwell, and finally into a still more corrupt despotism upon the restoration of Charles II. Look at Mexico and the South American republics. Where have they all gone? Instituted upon principles as free as our own, and in most respects the same, we have seen violence and bloodshed cover almost the entire history of those republics.—Where are they now? In a state of despotism, one and all of them, disturbed only by chronic insurrections. I say to you, therefore, my fellow-citizens, that no man can affirm that if we give up our liberties to-day we can reclaim them at will to-morrow; no man can affirm that if he remits that eternal vigilance which is the price of liberty, he is ever going to restore the country to that liberty and security which have characterized it in years that are past.

As a fitting prelude to the examination of the present condition of the country, I propose for a moment to institute a contrast, looking at the country as it was before the accession of the party now in power, and as it now is. What upon earth was there in the character of our institutions, or in the history of this country down to the advent of the present party, that should have made any mortal soul within its borders dissatisfied with the great experiment of free government that had been made? Assuredly, down to that time we were the freest people upon earth. Assuredly, down to that time we had gone through a career of prosperity such as no people on earth had enjoyed. Assuredly, down to that time the protection extended to all the interests of American citizens was greater than the protection extended to the citizens or subjects of any other country on the face of the earth. We had gone on in material prosperity in an unexampled manner. Starting with thirteen small colonies on the seaboard, we had seen the tide of population pass over the continent and finally settle down upon the Pacific Ocean. Over all this vast extent of country no poor man made his way to the borders and settled upon a piece of public lands, but the protectingegis of the Constitution was over him, to secure to him the full fruits of his labor, and afford him the largest liberty and security. The sound of the tax-gatherer's feet for the support of the Federal Government was hardly known in our borders. When did you ever see, down to the advent of these gentlemen, who now control the destinies of the country—when did you see the tax-gatherer wending his way from

house to house and from hamlet to hamlet, making up a list of all you have and own, for the purpose of having you registered and taxed? Never. The money necessary to be raised for an economical administration of the Federal Government was altogether derived from light duties on imports, and that was sufficient, under Democratic administrations and Whig administrations, to run the Government successfully, and to protect American citizens in everything that was dear to them. Now look at it as it is to-day. But a few years have elapsed, and instead of an undivided country one-third, nearly, of the entire area of the land is now dissevered from all political connection with the balance—I mean by that the political connection which grows out of the Union of States provided for by the Constitution. In all your borders the tax-gatherer is found collecting, as best he may, the proceeds of your industry. Yea, so numerous have they become, that, like the frogs of Egypt, they literally cover your entire borders, and, very much like the frogs of Egypt, they are in all your kneading troughs. [Applause]

Fellow-citizens, I do not wish to say to you anything that would seem unjustifiably harsh or severe, but I do say to you that the two leading characteristics of the party in power are corruption and partisan violence. [Applause.] I will state to you facts upon which I make this assertion, and, if the history of this country is ever fairly written, that will be the way it will appear upon the pages of history. I do not mean history written by those pensioned hirelings who, every week of the year, are sending out into the world lying accounts of the operations of this party and the government of the country under it. I want it should be fairly written, as history should be written, and when it is, it will justify any man in affirming what I have already affirmed, that the two great leading characteristics of this party are corruption and violence—partisan violence. Now, my fellow-citizens, of all things that corrode republican institutions and override liberty, no one of the various agencies is so competent in free government as that of corruption. Unless you can have purity in the administration of public affairs, and when the taxes are paid you can have some assurance that they will be applied to the object for which the money is raised, all confidence in the country ceases. And corruption does not stop with its effect upon the government officers, but its corroding effect pervades society entire, and we see its manifestations in every quarter. Now, I say to you that no party ever in power in this country has consumed so much of the substance of the people and wasted it upon favorites and office holders, as the party now in power. It is true we cannot say how this and that man

has enriched himself at the expense of the Government and his fellow-citizens. We can not track it out. We can only judge of it by the effects. The American people at this time are very much in the condition of the boy who went to mill. He was not accused of being very smart, and the miller interrogated him on some points. The anecdote is attributed to Dr. Franklin, and I think was first published in the Almanac of Poor Richard. The miller said to the boy, some people say you are a fool, and some say you are not. Well, said the boy, I know some things and some I don't. Well, what do you know? said the miller. Why, said the boy, I know that the miller's hogs grow fat. Well, and what don't you know? said the miller. Why, I don't know whose corn it is that fattens them, said the boy. [Laughter.] When we see these office holders and attaches of the Government—these loyal gentlemen—everywhere rolling in wealth in the midst of civil war, and after the civil war is over, we may be very sure that they grow fat; but we can not so well tell whose corn they have been fed upon, and the only way in which we can solve that problem, and correct the evil, is to look at the amount of corn these gentlemen have had the handling of, and see, if we can, what became of it. In the first place, then, there was collected by the Federal Government from the people of the country, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1866, five hundred and fifty-eight millions of dollars of revenue. That, as a matter of course, all came under the control of the officers of the Government, and was all manipulated by some one or more of them. How much toll they took from this grist I know not. How much it fell short of the amount collected, by the time it reached the Treasury—how much of it stuck to the fingers of the office holders connected with the collection of the revenue—I do not undertake to affirm. But I can say to you that where the carcass is there will the eagles be gathered. I think it should read buzzards in this case. I can say to you that this Government cannot continue for an indefinite time in the future to collect such an enormous revenue, and bring it into the coffers at Washington, without being one of the most corrupt governments on the face of the earth. We must collect less money. We must retrench, and make every dollar collected indispensable to meeting the expenses of the Government and the sum due to the public creditor. Then we shall be better able to tell what is done. If there is anything lost from it we shall be able to see and appreciate the loss. As it is now, with the vast appropriations made and the vast revenues levied, it is so vast a sum that many men may enrich themselves from it without us common people being able to say that the money has been taken at all.

And this is only one of the many elements of corruption. There is clustered around the Government at Washington, depending upon it for its enormous profits, the vast manufacturing interests of this country, largely located in the Eastern States. You may ask me what has this to do with the corruption of the Government? Legislation is all the time demanded for the interests of this class, higher tariffs, more exactions, heavier taxes are continually demanded by these manufacturing classes, that they may avail themselves of the incidental benefits of excluding foreign competition from their business. Now, when the question is whether more tariff shall be put on, or some that is on taken off, do you think that the levy of a quarter per cent., or a half per cent., or one per cent., upon the manufacturing interests, would have any effect upon the votes of Congress? Do you think, my fellow citizens, they have given you any idea that they would not rather more favorably consider the proposition when gentlemen come there with a fund of a few millions of dollars to promote the interests they seek to advance, and to have their views carried into legislation?

And again, here is a new element of corruption in the Federal Government. Formerly our entire banking system depended upon the several States. The banks were incorporated by the States and depended upon the laws of the States for their existence and management. You very well know that measures have been taken by the General Government driving the State banks out of existence, and putting in their place this national banking system, that we are all acquainted with. Upon whose laws does that system depend, with its capital of nearly four hundred millions of dollars, authorized to issue a circulation of three hundred millions? Upon whose laws do these banks depend? Upon those of the Federal Government. And now suppose the question is of putting some kind of restrictions upon this great banking capital. Do you think that the levy of a half of one per cent. upon this three hundred millions of dollars—by a levy of one per cent. you can get three millions—would that have any effect upon legislation? I leave you to judge for yourselves.

Fellow-citizens, another great element of corruption, (because when you bring around the Government these immense moneyed and property interests, you correspondingly bring corruption around it,) another great new source of corruption and power around the Government at Washington, is in the railroad system being now conducted by Congress. What is it, you may rightfully ask, and how much does it involve? We came out of this war with an enormous debt, and patriotism and every consideration of sound policy required the Government to husband

its resources and economize in the strictest degree, in order that the debt might be honorably paid, and the country relieved at the earliest day from the enormous burdens upon it. Now this railroad system—I do not mean the general railroad system of the States, although you and I have seen unmistakable evidences of a disposition and desire in Congress to lay their hands upon the entire railroad interests of the Union, and make them depend upon Federal legislation for their continuation and support—but I refer to that system of railroads incorporated for the purpose of constructing a railroad to the Pacific. What do you suppose has been done in that respect? Three railroads have already been incorporated—the Union, the Northern, and the Southern Pacific routes. I shall only recur, in detail, to the Union Pacific road, and from a public statement of their own as to what they have got out of the Government. Had you any idea that your great debt was increased by millions, and tens of millions, in the way of issues of your bonds to these railroads? I suppose you must have heard something of it, for it is published as an advertisement in all, or almost all the papers. Let me look at it a minute. Here is an advertisement for the sale of the first mortgage bonds of the Union Pacific Railroad. Under the head of "Means of the Company," they go on to state:

"Estimating the distance to be built by the Union Pacific to be 1,565 miles, the United States Government issues its 6 per cent thirty year bonds to the company, as the road is finished, at the average rate of about \$28,250 per mile, amounting to \$44,208,000.

"The company is also permitted to issue its own first mortgage bonds to an equal amount and at the same time, which by special act of Congress, are made a first mortgage on the entire line, the bonds of the United States being subordinate to them.

"The Government makes a donation of 12,500 acres of land to the mile, amounting to 20,032,000 acres, estimated to be worth \$30,000,000, making the total resources, exclusive of the capital, \$118,416,000; but the full value of the lands can not now be realized.

"The authorized capital stock of the company is one hundred million dollars, of which five millions have been already paid in, and of which it is not supposed that more than twenty-five millions at most will be required.

"The cost of the road is estimated by competent engineers to be about one hundred million dollars, exclusive of equipment."

In addition to this Union Pacific Railroad, they have authorized already another to the south of it, and another to the north, and have made the same grant of lands to each of these, but only to one of them any advance of bonds, and that a much smaller amount than to the Union Pacific. I am informed by those who profess to have knowledge, that the roads already authorized and those projected, will amount to an extent of eight thousand miles, to be built upon the same terms. The consequence is that this Government of ours has undertaken projects which, if carried into effect, as they will be,

unless they are exposed, will require an increase of your public debt in the sum of \$160,000,000. It will give away of the public lands of this country to these corporations, at present estimates, ninety millions of acres—and to complete the residue of it, the Lord only knows how much more. Now, don't understand me as being opposed to the Pacific Railroad or any other railroad. But ever since our experience in this State under the plunder law, I have noticed that when the Government comes in and lends its bonds on the credit of one of these companies the outcome is that the Government pays the debt, and some loyal patriot gets the work. That is just what you may expect from this system of railroads. The outcome will be that the forty-four millions upon the Pacific Railroad will finally absorb the road to pay the first mortgage, and the Government will be made to pay its bonds. There is given thirty millions of dollars' worth of land in alternate sections on each side of the road through a strip of country fifty miles wide. But you may say that makes the rest of the land worth so much the more. Just consider another thing, however. Do you recollect that a few years ago Senator Wade was particularly instrumental in distributing among the several States an Agricultural College fund, a grant of how many millions I know not, of the public land to each of the States according to their representation in Congress, for the endowment of Agricultural Colleges. What has been the outcome of all that? If you have noticed the newspapers you must have observed that these lands have been bought up from States by speculators at from fifty to sixty cents an acre. What is the outcome of all this? That you simply give to the Union Pacific Railroad thirty millions of your land in order to increase the value of the alternate sections, upon which these gentlemen who hold Agricultural College scrip will set down their warrants for the balance. If there is any one thing on the face of this earth that the Government should have been careful not to squander, it was this great fund of public land, better than money a thousand times. Your children as they grow up, will want to go to the West. "Westward the star of empire takes its way." They will want to go there upon cheap and fertile lands. The men who come to our borders from foreign countries will want to go there and settle there, and thus they become an inexhaustible mine of wealth to this country. The moment they are upon your lands and cultivating them they add vastly to the taxable property of the country. They build up a population with whom republican institutions can be more safely intrusted than with any other class of people. But within a few years past we have seen this immense fund squandered

away upon corporations and favorites, so that now the poor man's boy who makes his way to the borders, instead of going to the land office, must hunt up some loyal gentleman who has become the owner or director of the Union Pacific Railroad if he desires to buy any land. [Applause.] But again, I object to this wholesale robbery, because of its influence on the legislation of the country. Suppose a question arises in respect to this, as to how these grants were made, I know not, you know not, nobody will ever know; but you need not tell me that with such men as have been around Washington for a few years past, forty-four millions of Government bonds and forty-four millions of first mortgage bonds, making eighty-eight millions in all, were ever disposed of on this earth without some little portion of it sticking to the fingers of the gentlemen who greased the wheels to get it through. To this railroad interest may be added the telegraphic interest. I will not stop to go into any details on the subject. You all know that by the recent legislation of Congress this, too, is grasped in the Federal power, and that a great many millions are invested in that enterprise.

Now, my fellow-citizens, look over this whole ground. What is the Government getting to be. A Government of more temptations thrown around it for corruption and stealing than any Government that exists on the face of God Almighty's earth. You have hundreds of millions of revenue collected in the country and brought to Washington.—You have vast manufacturing interests dependent upon the legislation of Congress, and you have a vast banking interest dependent upon the same legislation. You have a railroad system and a telegraph system dependent upon this legislation, not to speak of the thousand and one minor considerations that might be brought up in the same way—all bringing us to the belief that there are more temptations thrown around our public men than were ever thrown around the public men of any country in the world. The Government, then, can not fail to be corrupt unless these temptations are safely guarded against.

I said to you that the next characteristic of the party in power was partisan violence.—I can not expect to do much more than simply to call your attention to a few of the considerations which present themselves with this proposition. In the first place, you very well know that by mere partisan violence they have excluded the qualified representatives from ten States of this Union. You know, in the next place—those of you who have kept the run of the proceedings of Congress—know very well upon what pretext members of Congress, in the opposition, have been expelled from both branches.—

Without the slightest justification they have simply settled down by partisan majorities, and ruled out members time and again upon the poorest and simplest pretexts in the world. You know very well, in the next place, that they now, to-day, exclude the entire representation of Kentucky, and one of the Senators from Maryland—so that two States in the Union that never went into secession, and are entitled to the rights and privileges of the other States, are excluded, the one entirely, and the other in part, from the right of representation. What do you call this but violence? It is not deciding matters according to the Constitution. It is refusing to receive men, against whom no objection can be urged. It is simply by partisan majority and partisan force, driving out of Congress those members distasteful to the majority.

You know very well, my friends, and I don't stop to debate at any length upon the subject, with what violence the elections have been conducted in some of the States by Federal interference. I could call your attention to Tennessee, to get an illustration of the violence that pervades the action of the Federal Government, in attempting to interfere with elections, where bloodshed and death were daily occurrences. Ah! my fellow-citizens, republican institutions will never flourish under such action as that.—They wither and die whenever you bring violence to the ballot-box. Peaceable men, just men, reflecting men, are not willing to peril their lives for the purpose of reaching a ballot-box surrounded by bayonets, and where a mob may be incited to injure and ruin them.

The next evidence I furnish you of the violence of the Republican party is in their conduct toward their own Executive. The Constitution of the United States has provided that the executive power shall be lodged in a President, who shall be elected by the people. It is provided that he shall be, among other things, commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and that he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint all the principal officers of the Federal Government. That is the Constitution as our fathers made it. Now, just recent to the legislation of the last Congress, in passing bills over the veto of the President. They have utterly stricken down, by simple brute force and partisan majorities, the executive office provided by the Constitution. [Applause.] They have so completely stricken it down, that Andrew Johnson to-day, instead of being President of the Republic, is the merest nothing that you can possibly imagine. And now, when men carry this violence so far that one branch of the Government strikes down another, ain't it time for patriots to be alarmed? What has

Andrew Johnson done? No matter. Whatever he may have done, did not authorize these men to strike down the Constitution and degrade the office. It he had done enough to justify them, they have full authority and right to impeach him. You know what a hue and cry they have been making on that subject. Impeach—impeach—impeach—was all the cry. Undoubtedly there are men there, such as Butler and his associates, who would really impeach and depose the President; but there is another class of men who have raised the howl of impeachment in order that Andrew Johnson might be frightened into securing to them the various offices in the gift of the Government. Thad Stevens told them rightly when he said:

'You can't impeach him. I have taken some pains to understand the constitution of the House and of the Senate. I wish he was impeached, but there is no use in talking about it.'

Why? Because, by intimidation and violence, they have made Andrew Johnson fool enough to nominate for the various offices men who are willing to be their tools.

But what next? The Supreme Court of the United States is, by the Constitution, one of the co-ordinate branches of the Government. Each of these co-ordinate branches is intended to be independent of the other, and if there is one of these that ought really to be kept independent it is the judiciary.—What do we see within the last year? The Supreme Court coming to a decision upon a case, and making a decision that the veriest tyro that ever ran in sight of a lawyer's office would know would have to be made if the Constitution was to be regarded. What do we see? The House of Representatives debating for several days after this decision was made, with a view of intimidating the Judges—nothing else in the world. It was stated in the telegraph that Mr. So-and-so—some little squirt that had probably read a treatise upon justices of the peace and constables—was going to bring in articles of impeachment against the Judges of the Supreme Court for having made a decision distasteful to the House of Representatives. Could violence go further than this? To strike down the Executive Department, and make it a mere nothing in the Government, and take from the President the power of removal and appointment to office, even the power to command the army; to take away all his power and then intimidate the Judiciary.—Is not this doing violence to the Constitution? To intimidate the Judges for making an honest and just decision, and threatening to impeach them. But the last threat of violence from the last Congress was the appointment of a committee to inquire whether Maryland, Delaware [and Kentucky, had

republican forms of Government. Just think of a committee of the House of Representatives charged with the duty of inquiring whether Old Maryland, the scene of many of the battle-fields of the Revolution—one of the old thirteen States, that, under the guidance of Washington laid the foundations of this mighty political fabric of ours! A set of men in the House of Representatives have sent out a committee to inquire whether or not old Maryland has a Republican Constitution. I will tell you what the trouble is—not that Maryland has not a republican form of Government, but that the Republican party have not got hold of it. [Applause.] That's where the pinch comes.

Well, now, my fellow-citizens, I must go on. It is very hot and very tiresome to you. I say to you, in the next place, that this party has violated every single pledge it has given to the country in order to obtain power in the practical administration of the Government—every single pledge; there is not one left. Now, I will say to you further, my fellow-citizens, that, in order to place confidence in a party, an individual or a body of any kind, consistency must belong to it. They cannot say one thing to-day, and the opposite to-morrow—make a promise to-day and turn round to-morrow and violate it, and claim to stand as honest men, for honest men do not do that. In the first place they told you that if you would only turn in and furnish men and money to put down the rebellion, they would restore the Union. They told you before that—before they obtained any power—that they would respect the rights of the States. They told you all through the war that their purpose in prosecuting the war was simply to put down the insurrection and restore the States to the relations which they held to the Federal Government before the rebellion occurred. Let me put in a little proof on that subject. The Convention that nominated Mr. Lincoln, in 1860, passed this resolution:

"Resolved, That the maintaining inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to the balance of power, on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends, and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of the soil of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the greatest crimes."

To maintain inviolate the rights of the States was then, in the judgment of these gentlemen, indispensable to the maintaining of that balance of power upon which our institutions were founded. They denounced any invasion of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as the gravest of crimes. Mr. Lincoln himself, in his first inaugural, incorporating this resolution into his address, says:

"Apprehension seems to exist among the people of the Southern States that by the accession of a Republican administration, their property, and their peace and personal security, are to be endangered. There has never been any reasonable cause for such apprehension. Indeed, the most ample evidence to the contrary has all the while existed and been open to their inspection. It is found in nearly all the written speeches of him who now addresses you. I do but quote from one of these speeches when I declare that I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."

Now, let us see how the Congress of the United States stands as to pledges. Immediately after the battle of Bull Run, they resolved as follows:

"That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States now in arms against the Constitutional Government, and in arms around the Capital; that in this National emergency Congress, banishing all feeling of passion or resentment, will recollect its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or for purposes of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of the States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that, as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war to cease."

More than that, in 1862 another resolution to the same purport and effect was passed. By that resolution it was also said that the war was not waged, on the part of the United States, in any spirit of oppression, or for conquest or subjugation, or for overthrowing the rights of the States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, with all the rights and dignity of the States unimpaired.

Now, my fellow-citizens, before the advent of this party, they told you that the preservation of the States, with all their rights unimpaired, was essential to the maintenance of the Union and that Republican system which was founded by the Union. They told you during the early part of the war, when men and money were to be raised, that the purpose of the war was simply to put down the insurrection, and that as soon as that was accomplished the States were to be restored to their relations to the Union, with all their rights unimpaired. That was the promise; and it is not too much to say that upon these resolutions of Congress, right and proper in themselves, tens of thousands of men, and hundreds of millions of money were brought to the support of the prosecution of the war. What was it? We only proposed to put down an insurrection against the authority of the Government and the Federal Constitution. I will say for one, that with these pledges made by the Government, I did the little that lay in my power to forward the operations of the war, in the way of

men and money. So did hundreds and thousands of others.

Now what came next? What do they tell you they have accomplished by it? They say that there are no States to be restored; instead of their rights being unimpaired by the rebellion, they say they have no rights. And this brings us down to the late measures of Congress, thoroughly and perfectly excluding the representation of ten States of the Union, and inaugurating over them five military despotisms. And upon what theory is this done? I am most thankful to these gentlemen for the late summer session of Congress, because it brought out and developed their plan of operations. There is no longer any excuse to a living man for supporting them unless he is prepared to support five military despotisms within the territory and upon the soil of the United States. There is no equivocation about it any longer. In the Reconstruction Act of last winter my old friend, Attorney General Stanbery, in construing it, undertook to make out that there were some little relics of decency in it. They came together with great indignation in July, and said this was a complete falsehood. They said they did mean it, and intend it to be the very worst thing that any body had ever said or pretended was meant by it.

Now, my fellow citizens, what did they do? They put five military commanders each in possession of a portion of this Southern territory—each is confirmed so by the Supplemental Act—with the power to remove every single civil officer in any of those States, and to administer the governments of those States, by detailing for the purpose, any officer or soldier in their respective commands, or pick up any civilian they may see fit to pick up to do it. That is what they say they intend to do. If this don't define a despotism, then I do not know what you call a despotism. There is nowhere to be found, within any civilized country on the earth, so thorough and shameless a despotism. I don't believe there is any country on the face of the earth where the administration of justice and all the functions of civil government are devolved upon soldiers and officers detailed from the army. That is precisely what the Reconstruction bill has authorized these five despots to do. What is the meaning of all this? For what is it done? It is done for this: Here are ten States entitled to twenty Senators whenever they shall have accorded to them their rights in the Union and a large number of representatives. What have they done in regard to these States? They have declared in the first place that all the negroes shall vote. They have declared, in the second place, that large portions of the white population—portions which embrace nearly all

the intelligence that could embody public sentiment or action in these States—shall be disfranchised, and shall not vote at all. They have devolved upon these military commanders the duty of causing to be registered in all these States, the voters that are going to be permitted to deposit their ballots when the election shall be ordered. You have seen the workings of it from the information furnished by the newspapers. In almost every one, perhaps in every one of the States, a majority of those registered are negroes who are not able to take care of themselves. These military commanders have power over these registrations, so that they can, at all times, see whether or not a majority are ready to carry out their schemes. The act of Congress has given them the power to refuse to register, or to strike from the register, the names of such as they shall find disloyal, or otherwise not entitled to vote. That is the Republican system you have over ten States of this Union to carry out the pledge that when the war ceased and the insurrection was suppressed, the States were to be restored to the Union with all their rights and dignities unimpaired. What is the meaning of the whole of it? It is that there shall be called to the aid of this party and its measures the entire representation of these ten States in both branches of Congress, and I am afraid they will accomplish it, too. There is nothing to prevent it. They have the registers in their hands, and while the Bureau feeds and clothes the negroes their standing army drives them up to the polls. That is the free republican system under the supremacy of this loyal, liberty-loving party over ten States of the Union. [A voice—"And we have to pay for it."] Yes, we have to pay for it. The Bureau is maintained at an expense of twelve millions of dollars annually, to furnish food and clothing to the negroes, and see that justice is done them; and you maintain your standing army at an expense of thirty-five millions annually. Why should not a man work cheerfully and go into his field, and gladly hail the round of the tax-gatherers, to sustain a standing army and a Bureau to feed negroes and carry into Congress such a majority as will enable these men to do just what they please with you and yours?

Fellow-citizens, did you see, the other day, the congratulation of Senator Sumner to the Senate, that they would in a few months have the pleasure of introducing into that body several colored Senators? [Laughter.] Won't you all feel proud when that happens?—and happen it will. There is old Brownlow, Jack Hamilton, Hunnicutt; and a few leading rebels like General Longstreet and Jeff Thompson and others have joined these gentlemen, and are for the Reconstruction

bill. They must get places. They must be in the Senate as the right-bowers of this liberty-loving, treason-hating party; but then there comes along with each of them, as a helper, into the councils of the nation, some good, fat, sleek-fed brenan nigger. That is what is coming to pass next.

I see the Republican candidate for Governor in this State has congratulated himself upon the idea that one of the rebel leaders, Longstreet, is thoroughly devoted to their system of reconstruction. I tell you things will work out right if you will only let them alone long enough.

In all these matters of violence, oh! that men would consult history. When Danton led Bailey and the Girondists to the guillotine, he little believed that in a short time Robespierre and Marat would sacrifice him upon that same guillotine, and when they in turn were perpetrating their enormities they little suspected that they would march up to the same places of execution. When these men are concocting in this country a scheme to bring about violence and bloodshed, I can assure them that this business will return to torment the inventors before they think of it. You have negro suffrage upon you in Ohio. Suppose you vote it down. I won't, for a moment, slander large portions of the opposition enough to suppose you will not do so. Well, if you vote it down, then what? A negro meeting in Columbus, the other day, told us that if you don't adopt it at this election, Massa Sherman will pass his bill, forcing it upon you whether or not. Are you to be intimidated by a negro meeting and frightened into adopting this from the fear that if you don't they will drive it upon you by the Federal Government? Is that what you have come to? That is a pretty position, I am sure.

With negroes in both branches of Congress, and a proposition pending in Congress to vote negro suffrage upon all the States—with all these before you, and also a Constitutional amendment by Wilson for negro suffrage, so that if Sumner's bill don't go through, that amendment shall be submitted to the Legislatures of the several States for adoption, what sort of legislation do you suppose they will have in the South? You will soon see that Massa Sumner can send down anything and have it adopted; so that these ten States are to be used, in the end, for this very party to foist upon the adhering States any sort of obnoxious measures they see fit, in the way of patching up the old system of Washington, with all the enormities and absurdities of these modern inventions and innovations.

There is another thing you could not help observing. I observe it with some degree of sadness, but my sadness was alleviated by the consideration that, when rogues fall out,

honest men get their due. [Laughter.] You could not help observing what brotherly love was manifested between the two sections of this great liberty loving party—how Fessenden and Candler seem to love each other, and transferring the scene to the House, you could not help observing how they love each other there.

Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, at the last session of Congress, gave us the key to this action of Congress, for establishing military despotisms in the South. I must give Thaddeus the credit that is due him, and say that he is the only man who comes boldly and manfully up to the work, and tells us what he is at and why he is at it. This may have arisen from his military education in early life, for you will recollect that he was the hero of the Buckshot War, in which he made a great fight along with Joe Eitner, when they undertook to hold the State of Pennsylvania, after they had been voted out of it. But Thaddeus tells us this in his speech on the President's veto, as reported in the Associated Press. After saying that they could not impeach the President, he says:

"The President starts by asserting in his message, what, if true, would support all the rest of his arguments. He says the Constitution of the United States is theoretically operative in the conquered provinces of the South."

It has got to be "conquered provinces." The resolutions of Congress declared that they did not look to the conquest or subjugation of the South, and Mr. Lincoln declared the same thing in his message. Why, who were they conquered from? These States are ours now and were ours before; so if we have conquered them, the Dutch have simply taken Holland. [Laughter.] Mr. Stevens goes on to say:

"The President says the Constitution of the United States is theoretically operative in the conquered provinces of the South. If that were true, then all we have done is rank usurpation. I deny that the Constitution is either theoretically or practically operative in any of these States."

Now, here we have an admission and an assertion. It is admitted that, if the Constitution of the United States has any force or effect over these ten States, then all they have done in setting up military despotisms is rank usurpation. We have, in the next place, the assertion that the Constitution of the United States is neither theoretically nor practically operative in any of those States. That is a fair assertion. What does it come to? We will consider it in the light of territory of the United States, and put it in the most favorable position of the argument, and consider that the rebellion annihilated the States, and left all the area over which the rebellion extended in the condition of a Territory of the United States. Then is the Constitution of the United States operative over it? The Supreme Court of the United

States have passed upon this very question, and by a unanimous decision upon this particular point, though there were differences as to other points in the case, have decided it. Chief Justice Taney delivered the opinion. Here is part of it :

"When the Territory becomes a part of the United States, the Federal Government enters into possession in the character impressed upon it by those who created it. It enters upon it with its powers over the citizens strictly defined and directed by the Constitution from which it derives its own existence, and by virtue of which alone it continues to exist and act as a government and sovereignty. It has no power of any kind beyond it; and it can not, when it enters a Territory of the United States, put off its character, and assume discretionary or despotic powers, which the Constitution has denied to it."

And again :

"The power over person and property of which we speak are not only not granted to Congress, but are, in express terms, denied, and they are forbidden to exercise them. And this prohibition is not confined to the States, but the words are general, and extend to the whole territory over which the Constitution gives it power to legislate, including those portions of it remaining under territorial government, as well as those covered by States."

It would seem as though the Supreme Court of the United States supposed the Constitution was operative over the Territories. Justice Curtis, who dissented upon other points, expressing the opinion of the minority, says, in speaking of the powers conferred upon Congress to make all needful laws for the government of the Territories :

"If, then, this clause does contain a power to legislate respecting the Territory, what are the limits of that power? Is this, I ask, that in common with all the other legislative powers of Congress, it finds limits in the express prohibition, on Congress, not to do certain things; that in the exercise of the legislative power Congress cannot pass an *ex post facto* law or bill of attainder. And so in respect to each of the other prohibitions contained in the Constitution."

We see here, fellow-citizens, that upon this subject the Supreme Court of the United States have unanimously decided that brother Thaddeus is all wrong when he thinks that the Constitution of the United States is not operative in the Territories of the United States; and if it is operative, then, says Thaddeus, all we have done is rank usurpation. But who would have ever conceived that there was a mortal man upon earth who ever supposed that the Constitution of the United States did not protect the inhabitants of the District of Columbia and the inhabitants of the Territories as much as those who inhabited the States? It has been so construed from the earliest times, by the Supreme Court and by every department of the Government.

You all know the history of the ten amendments.

When the Constitution of the United States was first submitted to the States for ratification, it was found not to contain what

is commonly called a bill of rights—that is, provisions containing limitations upon the power of the government. The advocates of the Constitution said this was unnecessary. Why? Because there was nothing granted to the government except what was clearly expressed in the letter of the Constitution. But to make assurance doubly sure, a large number of the States to which the Constitution was submitted recommended amendments constituting a bill of rights. I will call your attention to the tenth amendment. It provides that the powers not herein expressly delegated to the General Government are reserved to the States and the people thereof. Now, to go on after that and say that the Federal Government has any more power than has been delegated to it, and that it can do any of the various things which it is prohibited in this amendment, is just simply absurd. I have no time to go through with the consideration of this particular branch of the subject, but I will refer you to the fact that this Congress—this party in Congress—have treated all these States as States, down to the passage of these late reconstruction measures. They have submitted amendments to the Constitution to them, and upon their votes they have been adopted. There have been appointed for them Judges, Marshals, and United States Attorneys, who have been confirmed by the United States Senate, and all at once they wake up to the belief that they are not States at all, that they are all out of the Union, that, indeed, they have made the rebellion successful, dissolved the Union and set up an independent government; that we have conquered the country from that independent country, and must treat it as a conquered province. There is a point of time when military occupation of a conquered country is sustained by the laws of nations and of war. It is the time extending from the subjugation of the country to the treaty of peace ceding it to the conqueror; but if we are waiting, for example, to have this country ceded to us, who are we to expect to do it? Shall we go to the Confederacy to get it ceded to us? The thing runs right into an absurdity the moment you suggest it.—Amongst other things this party promised us was retrenchment in the expenditure and economy in the administration of the Government. They have brought us economy with a vengeance, haven't they? Economy! A leading member of Congress, having great opportunities to know what he was talking about, said upon the floor of the House of Representatives, that fully one-third of the three thousand millions of debt of the Government was fraudulently contracted. One thousand millions of dollars, then, during the administration of this party has been stolen from the Government by fraudulent contract-

ors, speculators and office holders. Is this economy? They have given us economy in another respect. Look at the salaries paid to officers. You remember, down to the advent of these gentlemen we had very low salaries. That was at a time when the Government was run by "disloyal" men. What have these "loyalists" done? In olden times the Governor of Ohio could serve the State for \$1,800. They have made it \$4,000, and so of all officers throughout the State—they have raised the salaries of all of them. But when you come into the Federal Government, I can only say, in general terms, they have nearly doubled all the salaries and quadrupled the number of officers. Look at this State. Prior to the advent of these gentlemen we collected, I believe, eight millions of taxes a year. Last year, the Auditor tells us, we collected over twenty millions. For the use of the Federal Government, prior to the accession of these gentlemen, we used seventy to seventy-five millions a year—got altogether from duties on imports. During the last year (1866) the receipts of the Government were five hundred and fifty-eight millions of dollars. And so you may go through with the comparison, showing in every branch of the Government an enormous increase of the burdens of the people in the ordinary expenditures of the Government. I have referred already to the immense mass of public lands given away to these railroads. I might go on, to any extent almost, and show you that during the administration of these gentlemen the public lands have been shamefully dissipated and squandered.

I had intended to call your attention, somewhat in detail, to the financial situation, but I have already occupied so much of your time that I can do no more than allude to it, although it constitutes one of the great questions for the examination and action of the American people at this present time. Let us sit down and ascertain, if we can, where we are. We owe on the debt, liquidated and unliquidated, according to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, three thousand millions of dollars. I hardly think there are many of you gentlemen who appreciate the enormity of this sum. I undertook to express it myself by writing it down on an ordinary sheet of foolscap, and having filled up one line, supposing I had got enough, a friend, who had gone further into arithmetic than I had, told me I would have to use part of another line to get through with it. The enormity of this debt is appalling. It is, indeed, a mountain of debt. For the purpose of paying that debt in the way of taxes upon articles of consumption, Ohio, having about one-tenth of the population of the Union, may be set down as constituting one-tenth part of the Union, and liable, therefore, for one-tenth of the debt, or three hundred millions of dol-

lars. Three hundred millions of dollars! I remember very well in the Constitutional Convention how extremely solicitous we were to provide for the early payment of the State debt incurred in making canals, &c. It amounted to \$16,000,000. We hoped to live to see the day when it would be all paid off. These gentlemen, in the course of a very few years, have put upon us \$300,000,000, and we hardly knew it. Just consider what it is. It is 3,500,000 upon every county in Ohio.—This is a good deal more than an average county. There is probably, taking into account the ratio of population and resources of this county, \$4,000,000 of this debt in Richland county, or about \$150,000, to every township. Well, but you say, do we really owe this? In reality, you do. It was contracted I know by boasting of loyalty and crying Copperhead, but it can't be paid in that way. That currency does not go any more in the way of payment. It is a good thing when you are going to contract a debt to fire men's passions up, and cry out about loyalty and patriotism, but when it comes pay day that won't pass. [Applause.] What have you got to represent that debt? In respect to our State debt we had our magnificent public works, our Ohio Canal and our Miami Canal. We had monuments of the money that had been expended all over the State benefiting the inhabitants. What have you for this enormous debt? Can any man tell? You have a few muskets and bayonets left, for I see that a number of them were sent to old Brownlow recently to drive white men from the polls, and to drive niggers up to them. You have a few such things as that, but other than that not a thing exists upon God Almighty's earth to help you pay one single dollar. It has got to be worked out at the plow and the bench. There is no other way to pay it, because I say to you that in all the modes proposed for raising money to pay the public debt, there is no way devised by which the burden of it will not in the end rest on the consumer. You lay duties upon imports. Who pays them? The importer, you say. Yes. Who pays him? He is paid in goods, and a profit beside. Who pays the importer? The wholesale merchant. Who pays the wholesale merchant? The retail merchant. Who pays the retail merchant? My old friend, you pay him when you draw a load of wheat to his store and buy goods with it.—Can you levy duties upon manufacturers? They pay the taxes. But what do they do next? Put them on the goods. Who pays it in the end? The man who buys the goods. Look at whisky—one of the great institutions of this loyal administration. [Laughter.] It has greased more wheels than anything else I can think of. [Applause.] It is taxed \$2 per gallon. Who pays that? The distiller, the landlord. Who pays the land-

lord? You and I when we step in to take a drink. That is the way it all comes round in the end. You and I have got to pay it, and we must get our money out of the plow-tail and the bench, or somewhere else where sweat and toil enter into the production.

Let us look at this thing and see if there is any reform to be effected. The great practical question is, how shall this debt be honorably paid and discharged, and the expenses of the State Government and the nation be met by the people? That is a great question—one of the great questions of the day. I don't profess to be fully instructed in this subject, and what I shall say will be rather in the way of suggestion than the expression of any settled conviction on my part. In the first place, what is the scheme of the party in power? It is to liquidate the whole of this indebtedness by the bonds of the Government drawing interest payable in coin. That is the policy now of the Government. How speedily they may come to it I do not know. But who is to furnish the currency for the country? As a matter of course this system of National Banks, organized at almost every cross-roads—National Banks in every town. Shades of Jackson! how did they get to be here? We can all recollect the time when General Jackson, with the country at his back, attacked the Bank of the United States and pronounced it unconstitutional and one of the most corrupt elements that could be brought around Congress. It was shown how it had subsidized the press and made loans to members of Congress. All these things got our backs up under the leadership of Gen. Jackson. That bank bill—what was it? It was a bank closely connected with the Treasury, and performing many offices for the Treasury Department. It was a bank of thirty-five millions of capital. What have we got in its place now? Old Democrats, who used to think something of General Jackson and the Constitution of the country, and something of the purity of Congress, I ask you what you have in the place of that now? You have a thousand and one National Banks, if that is the right number. You have this great banking system, with its three hundred millions of capital, instead of the United States Bank, with thirty-five millions. You have banks depending, as much as that ever did, upon the legislation of Con-

gress to be maintained and supported. If that bank, with thirty-five millions, was able to subsidize presses, and corrupt members of Congress, what are we to think of the numerous banks now engaged with three hundred millions of capital? And these banks are eventually to furnish the entire circulating medium of the country. With all the schemes of fraud and theft that have been practiced upon this poor bleeding country for the last few years, I do really think that none has excelled this attempt to combine the whole moneyed interest, and support it in power in the Federal Government by the institution of this system of National Banks. Let us look at it for a moment. They issue currency. Of course they redeem it, but how? Do they redeem their notes in specie? Ah! such a thing is not contemplated. Not at all. The way they redeem is, if you will only carry back one of their notes they will give you another in its place to bring home with you. That's the way they will redeem. Just look at this for a single moment. What is it? It is saying to these men: "If you will deposit these Government securities in the Treasury of the United States, we'll keep them there safely, and pay you six per cent. in gold (equal to nine) interest on them; we will pay you that much interest; and, in consideration that you have done this, we will invest you with the Government prerogative of making an irredeemable paper currency, equal to ninety per cent. of all you deposit." What is the consequence, so long as the currency remains irredeemable? It is just saying to these gentlemen that they may draw a secured interest upon ninety per cent. of their bonds. It is paying, in the aggregate, to these men, to make a currency for the country, not less than twenty millions of dollars; and in view of the amount they charge upon these loans, having no respect to the limitations of Congress, it will probably amount to from thirty to forty millions per annum, as a consideration for the work of depositing bonds in the Treasury, getting gold interest upon them, and then issuing currency and getting interest upon that.

Judge Ranney then spoke briefly in conclusion of the personal qualifications of the candidates on the Democratic ticket, and urged all who heard him to vote with the Democracy in October.